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Beyond Jane Addams: The Progressive Pedagogies of Ella Flagg Young, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Lucy Maynard Salmon, and Anna Julia Cooper

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CHAPTER SIX

Beyond Jane Addams

The Progressive Pedagogies of Ella Flagg Young, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Lucy Maynard Salmon, and Anna Julia Cooper

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ABSTRACT

Progressive reform began to significantly impact America's education system at a time when women were seeking their own elevation in society. This chapter will focus on the actions of some often-overlooked women who devoted their lives to improving education in vastly different ways. The four women featured here include Ella Flagg Young, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Lucy Maynard Salmon, and Anna Julia Cooper. Young worked for educational reform at the administrative level. Mitchell focused on elementary-age children, and Salmon fostered progressive pedagogy in the teaching of history. The chapter concludes with an examination of Anna Julia Cooper's work to promote education for disenfranchised African Americans. All four women shared a desire to promote progressive pedagogy.

The actions of many dedicated women in the early 20th century played a crucial role in ushering new and progressive forms of education into America's classrooms. Progressive education, while not easily defined, emerged during a time of great social transition in the United States in the late 1800s. Women such as Jane Addams and her settlement house movement were at the forefront of societal reforms

aimed at the greater inclusion of all races, genders, and classes of people in modern American society. Developing new ways to educate children was a progressive reform that touched the lives of many Americans and, in turn, caused some of the most frenzied debate of the period. Education in its progressive form came to encompass the whole child and was no longer relegated solely to the schoolhouse. In this chapter, we focus not just on the varied interpretations of progressive education but also on the actions of some often-overlooked women who worked tirelessly for the grassroots implementation of progressive educational reform. In particular, progressive women educators in the context of administration, elementary education, content pedagogy, and education for the disenfranchised are featured. The four women we highlight are Ella Flagg Young, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Lucy Maynard Salmon, and Anna Julia Cooper.

School reform is the subject of many studies. Seminal works such as Lawrence A. Cremin's (1964) *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957*, and Herbert M. Kliebard's (2004) *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958*, examine in detail the origins and meaning of progressive education. Pinpointing when progressive education truly began and the types of reform it brought about is no easy task, as Cremin (1959) reminded his audience in a speech delivered in 1959 at Teachers College, Columbia University: "Progressive education began as progressivism in education: a many-sided effort to use the schools to improve the lives of individuals. In the minds of the progressives this meant several things at least." A heavily scrutinized revisionist approach (Westbury, 2005) to the history of curriculum development and progressive education has also been proffered by William Wraga and Peter Hlebowitsh (2003) in their work *Toward a Renaissance in Curriculum Theory and Development in the USA*. These various interpretations of progressive education and curriculum history reveal the origins of working and contested definitions of progressive education.

Progressive education was not just an American phenomenon or the offspring of John Dewey, whom many tout as the "father of progressive education." Many progressive theoretical ideas concerning the education of young children spawned from the European philosophers Johann Pestalozzi and Friedrich Froebel. Their emphasis on the importance of motherhood, spirituality, and natural methods in early childhood education were rebranded in the United States to mean something akin to child-centered education (Reese, 2001).

The various meanings of progressive education and the factions that formed both in support of and against the infusion of progressive methods in classrooms led to critical reproach from many directions. The modern debate over education reform and the infusion of Common Core curriculum standards into American schools harkens back to this debate from the turn of the previous century. In both the historic and contemporary educational reform movements there has been

uncertainty about what exactly the reforms were and how they would be carried out in classrooms across the United States. Teachers and administrators in the trenches make reform efforts reality. It is their understanding of the meaning and scope of reform that has a direct impact upon students—not philosophers or theoreticians who speculate about learning theory and nature. Every classroom and learning environment is different, and children learn information in sundry ways. Progressive education reforms, both at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, address those differences characterizing each child and his or her needs as the central focus.

Women in the early years of the 20th century were becoming more educated, and the teaching profession was emerging as a field where their expertise was increasingly being utilized in leadership positions. The efforts of Horace Mann in the 1840s helped to feminize teaching through teacher-training programs. More women were teaching in schools, in part because there was a greater need for cheap labor as mandatory student attendance laws were becoming more pervasive. The four women featured, Ella Flagg Young, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Lucy Maynard Salmon, and Anna Julia Cooper, went beyond fulfilling a cursory role in classrooms and are the focus of this chapter for their grassroots contributions to the progressive education reform movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Each woman represents a particular aspect of progressive education. We selected an administrator, an elementary educator, a historian practicing progressive pedagogy, and a minority education advocate. There are other women who may be more recognizable as progressive education reformers, such as Jane Addams, Maria Montessori, or Marietta Johnson, but the women highlighted here are also important practitioners of progressive thought and method who influenced countless American schoolchildren of their generation and beyond.

Ella Flagg Young is an excellent example of a progressive woman administrator and school-level leader. Her career and positions as Chicago Schools superintendent and as the National Education Association president will be presented in the first section. Lucy Sprague Mitchell and her work in transforming elementary education to be more investigative is the focus of the second section. Progressive pedagogy in the practice of history teaching is the emphasis of the third section and features the work of Lucy Maynard Salmon. The final woman featured in this chapter is Anna Julia Cooper, and we discuss her work to promote the education of disenfranchised African Americans.

These four women have much in common and yet developed their own brands of progressive education reforms. The elusive nature and lack of concrete definition of progressive education make all of their work a prime example of how progressive education in its implementation is variable depending on the context, time frame, and locale. The women in this chapter who were on the front lines of such monumental change in education are examples of progressive reform itself

and are a testament to emerging progressive social reform occurring at the same time that new educational practices were being implemented.

ELLA FLAGG YOUNG: ADMINISTRATOR AND TEACHER ADVOCATE

Ella Flagg Young's life spanned some of the most critical junctures in American history. Young and her family moved to the burgeoning Midwestern city of Chicago in 1858 from Buffalo, New York, where she was born in 1845. Learning and education became Ella Flagg Young's life's work. She taught herself to read and write and did not begin formal grammar school until the age of 10, due to her mother's unfounded fear that Ella suffered a delicate constitution. Once she entered formal education, Young never left the institution and spent her life reforming and refining schools to best meet the needs of children.

Young had a keen intelligence and natural ability in mathematics. At age 15, she took, and soundly passed, a teacher certification test but was not yet able to begin teaching due to her young age. Ella instead enrolled in the normal department of the Chicago High School to further her training. Recognizing that she needed to have training that focused on interaction with children in addition to content knowledge, Young volunteered in a teacher's classroom on a weekly basis. She effectively created her own student teaching situation. In 1862, at age 17, Young graduated from the Chicago High School with a diploma from the normal department. Her career would ultimately span over 50 years and see her reach the highest levels of local and national administration.

Ella Flagg Young's classroom teaching career included teaching high school math but very quickly evolved into an administrative role. After only 1 year of teaching at the Foster School in Chicago, Ella was promoted to serve as the assistant to the principal of the Brown School in Chicago. She was already distinguishing herself because her methods of instruction diverged from the more traditional "drill" exercises. Young developed an "object" curriculum for her math courses that was based on the emerging instructional theories of Pestalozzi (Smith, 1994). Two years following this first step up the administrative ladder, Young was given her first principalship at the new practice teaching school. It is clear from her rapid rise in school leadership that her talent and ability were recognized and utilized by the Chicago City Schools.

At only 20 years of age, the rising star of Chicago schools was dealing with personal grief on a monumental scale. Ella Flagg Young's mother died as she began her first teaching position in 1863. Five years later, in 1868, her brother Charles died in a train accident; the same year, she married William Young. Tragedy con-

and father all died of disease, leaving her with no immediate family (Blount, 2002). Young's work in the schools became her primary focus after her tragic loss of family.

Ella Flagg Young was promoted to the position of school principal for the first time in 1876 and served in that position at two different elementary schools, Scammon and Skinner, until she was ultimately made a district-level administrator in 1887. As Chicago was continuing its surge in growth during the 1880s, the public schools had to manage the staggering implications. Enrollment grew from 630,000 pupils in 1886 to about 1.5 million in 1893 (Smith, 1994). Young was at the forefront of managing the enrollment growth logistically and also recognizing how the curricular changes of the progressive education movement could benefit Chicago's students.

Some critics called the progressive education curriculum ideas "fads and frills" that would not enhance student achievement but instead would hinder academic progress. Young was more open to progressive education programs. Under her leadership as Chicago Schools assistant superintendent from 1887–1899 and superintendent from 1909–1913, progressive programs, including manual arts, domestic science, music, art, and kindergarten, became integrated in many of the district's schools. Young believed very strongly in the scientific method applied to the art of teaching and was therefore open to newly emerging pedagogies. With this philosophy, she believed the new progressive programs would supplement the traditional curriculum to enhance the education of students (Smith, 1980).

In addition to advocating progressive techniques in classrooms, Ella Flagg Young is probably most noted for her advocacy of teachers through her work with the Chicago Teachers' Federation and the National Education Association. In discussing the need for teachers to have the freedom to develop their own methods and practices, Young was noted as saying "No one can work in another's harness" (Smith, 1980, p. 28). She believed that classroom teachers should have adequate representation at the top levels of decision making. As the Chicago schools were growing in student population, they were also growing in their repressive authority—especially over female teachers. Throughout her career, Ella Flagg Young promoted progressive reforms, including more democratic school governance. Female teachers would have a voice under Young's administration in decisions the school system made regarding their pensions and policies that restricted married teachers (Smith, 1994).

Chicago teachers utilized the Chicago Teacher's Federation to secure their pension funds and to have teachers represented in school-level management. Ella Flagg Young worked to promote these goals for teachers and their status in the schools. She was innovative in her approach to education and problem solving through the inclusion of classroom teachers within the leadership of school organizations. Another great leader of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, Margaret

Haley, marveled at Young's creative and tenacious ability to tackle difficult problems by stating she was "the nearest approach I have ever seen to thought in instantaneous action" (Lagemann, 1996, p. 172). Ella Flagg Young also required continuous study of educational practices for herself and the teachers in her system. She forged a relationship with the University of Chicago's pedagogy and philosophy departments to keep abreast of the trends in education.

John Dewey, founder of the laboratory school at the University of Chicago, quickly became a mentor to Ella Flagg Young, even though he often said that he learned from her and was "constantly getting ideas from her" (Lagemann, 1996, p. 177). When asked to join the faculty in the University of Chicago's teacher training program, Young declined because of principle. She did not hold an advanced degree and thought it improper to be instructing those seeking advanced credentials when she did not hold one herself. At age 50, Ella Flagg Young rectified this shortcoming and once more became a student. She proved to be a prized pupil in John Dewey's doctoral seminars at the University of Chicago. She did not shy away from debate with Dewey and earned his greatest respect. Her doctoral dissertation, *Isolation in the School*, argued that social equality between and among all participants in the educational system—students and teachers, teachers and administrators, and school and university teachers—was essential to improving schooling at all levels (Lagemann, 1996). Her understanding of progressive education can be seen in her approach to school organization and operation. She believed in a democratic decision-making process within school- and district-level administrations. Dewey's philosophical framework and Young's practical application of progressive elements in education formed a symbiotic union. Dewey remarked of Young's studies at the University of Chicago, "What I chiefly got from Mrs. Young was just the translation of philosophic conceptions into their empirical equivalents" (Smith, 1980, p. 29).

The ideals of progressive administration were also the underlying principles that she promoted as the first woman president of the National Education Association. She was elected to the post in 1910 and worked during her tenure to make the male-dominated organization more democratic. A biographer of Ella Flagg Young wrote, "What she has undertaken to do was to show the power of women in positions of public responsibility, work that she considered more important than talking in behalf of 'votes for women'" (Webb & McCarthy, 1996, p. 11). Her first experience with the National Education Association in 1867 had required her to be relegated to the balcony at the annual meeting and not permitted to participate in discussion due to her gender. As president of the organization, Young's objective was to stress the importance of classroom teachers and their ability to participate in school policy decision making. She also involved herself in an investigation of membership dues investments. Launching a probe into the finances

questioning the effectiveness, and essentially the integrity, of some of the established male membership. She did not back down and ultimately secured the membership dues for the future (Blount, 2002).

Ella Flagg Young, and other women administrators of the early 20th century, such as Margaret Haley, promoted an ideal of democratic participation in educational leadership. Under Young's progressive interpretation of how schools should function, teachers would be at the forefront of developing curriculum practices to suit their particular classroom situations. The process of school governance would also be more democratic and include the classroom teacher, as the profession was employing more women. Ella Flagg Young was certainly a maverick in her time and embodied progressivism even before she formally studied the philosophy behind the practices as the mature student of John Dewey.

LUCY SPRAGUE MITCHELL: PROGRESSIVE LEADER IN ELEMENTARY EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

Chicago's influence in progressive education is unmistakable. Lucy Sprague Mitchell, a Chicago native, was another woman entrenched in the movement to embrace new methods of teaching children. Unlike Ella Flagg Young's modest middle-class background, the Sprague family amassed substantial wealth during Chicago's booming business scene of the late 19th century. Lucy was educated largely at home by governesses until the family moved to California in 1893, when she first entered the elite Marlborough boarding school. While she was not educated in Chicago's public schools, which were at that time under the direction of Ella Flagg Young, the progressive flavor of Chicago still impacted the young Lucy Sprague before her family moved west.

As a young girl, Lucy Sprague had the opportunity to witness and interact with the powerful progressive Chicago elite through her parents' business and social affairs. She regularly visited Jane Addams's Hull House and was certainly influenced by the settlement house founder's outreach in the community and support of women's suffrage. Lucy also came into regular contact with storied professors from the University of Chicago, as they were often invited to dine in the Sprague household. John Dewey and Alice Freeman Palmer became role models for the young girl, whose family regularly interacted with the famous academics (Field, 1999).

Lucy Sprague enrolled at Radcliffe College with the support of family friends George and Alice Freeman Palmer. Alice was the president of Wellesley College and George a full professor of philosophy at Harvard. Lucy lived with the Palmers and thrived in the academic environment. She took all of the philosophy courses offered at Harvard and regularly went toe to toe with the department's elite

scholars—including George Palmer (Antler, 1987). Lucy's graduation with honors from Radcliffe in 1900 was followed by an unhappy return to California to care for her sick father. The Palmers once again provided an outlet for Lucy. She accompanied them to Europe, where Alice Palmer unexpectedly died. The return to Cambridge was followed by an uncomfortable period of mourning in which Lucy came to feel "suffocated" by George Palmer. She returned to California and was charged with overseeing women students at the University of California, Berkeley.

At Berkeley, Lucy Sprague became impassioned about the education of women. She was promoted to dean of women in 1906 and set out to enhance the academic experience of the women attending UC-Berkeley during the turn of the century's progressive era of change. At Berkeley, she became known for her brand of experiential learning. Learning by doing in the real world was successful at the college level, and Lucy Sprague would refine this method for use with young elementary children as her career progressed. Field trips and expanding on individual experiences were central components of progressive pedagogy for Sprague's Berkeley students and the elementary students who would later become her focus.

Lucy Sprague's relationship with Wesley Mitchell, an economics professor, began to take shape during her time at Berkeley. They had met many years earlier in Chicago, but in California, Mitchell began a romantic pursuit of Lucy. She was hesitant to allow her emotions to lead her to matrimony, which Mitchell proposed with regularity. Lucy Sprague's greatest fear was that marriage would mean abandoning her professional goals. Statistics from the period show that between 1877 and 1924, only 25 percent of women with PhD degrees married, and in 1920, even more striking statistics show that 90 percent of women who classified themselves as professionals remained unmarried, opting for a nontraditional lifestyle (Antler, 1981). Given these percentages, it is little wonder that the academically driven Lucy Sprague was conflicted about the proposition of marriage to Wesley Mitchell, for fear that she would be stifled in Victorian-era gender expectations.

Lucy left California and her suitor to explore opportunities for women in New York City. While on sabbatical, Lucy continued to correspond with Mitchell. He wrote to her often and convinced her that he in no way intended for her to give up her work if she were to marry him. In 1912, Lucy married Wesley Mitchell, and he was true to his word about not restricting her career. Wesley's devotion to Lucy's work and her wealth from the Sprague fortune afforded her the means to create the successful program that became famously known as the Bank Street College of Education in New York.

In New York, Lucy Sprague Mitchell took courses under John Dewey and Edward Thorndike at Teachers College and became immersed in numerous educational projects. At the same time, Lucy and Wesley's family began to grow. They

to manage the family and her professional work with the help of nannies and the proximity of their home to the Bank Street complex.

Lucy Sprague Mitchell established the Bureau of Educational Experiments (BEE) in 1916 with the expressed goal of developing research on progressive education. The "multiple aspects of children's growth—physical, mental, emotional, and social—were to be promoted by ample opportunities for experimentation" (Antler, 1987, p. 284). In 1919, the BEE began a nursery school for children aged 15 months to 3 years. The new school was to be an extension of Caroline Pratt's Play School that enrolled children beginning at age 3 and ending with age 7. The program they created in this laboratory school setting was to emphasize a child-centered expressive curriculum (Antler, 1994). An observer would notice active children engaged in their work and play rather than students listening passively.

Lucy Sprague Mitchell expanded her role in progressive education reform when she became involved in teacher training. Her goal in training student teachers was to "help students develop an 'experimental, critical and ardent' approach to education that combined a 'scientific attitude' with the 'attitude of an artist'" (Antler, 1994, p. 328). The program divided a student teacher's time between the experimental school for part of each week, and the remainder of each week was spent in workshops and seminars. Bank Street became the home of Lucy Sprague Mitchell's experimental school and teacher training facility in 1931. In 1943, the New York City Board of Education implemented the methods honed at Bank Street. Later, in 1950, the recognition of Bank Street's success developed into the charter of the Bank Street College of Education. Although Lucy Sprague Mitchell was an administrator and founder of these growing programs, it was her work with developing methods of instruction that energized this pioneer in progressive education for young elementary children.

Experience was the key to learning, according to Lucy Sprague Mitchell. She had spent much of her early childhood exploring the bustling city of Chicago with wonder and a yearning to learn more about the city's rich history and architecture. This same type of curiosity could be brought to children in classrooms with an appropriately styled curriculum and materials. Mitchell used her writing ability to create such materials.

Lucy Sprague Mitchell wrote the *Here and Now Story Book*, first published in 1921. It contained 41 stories and jingles for young children. She emphasized with this series children's exploration of their immediate surroundings and then gradually widened those environments along a path of individual inquiry. "*Here and Now* stories meant stories that took the children's first-hand experience as a starting point, not stories that were limited to these experiences" (Antler, 1987, p. 247). This approach is progressive in nature through its divergence from traditional stories of conquest and violence.

The *Here and Now* series format was based on Lucy Sprague Mitchell's extensive observation of child development at the experimental schools she administered in New York. These pronouncements on child development predated those of Piaget that came later in the 1920s (Antler, 1987). An example of the modern influence of the *Here and Now* progressive approach is the popular children's book, *Goodnight Moon*, written by a Lucy Sprague Mitchell protégé, Margaret Wise Brown. Opponents of the progressive style of Mitchell's literacy approach defended classic fairy tales and wondered if children were being restricted from exploration beyond their environs. Mitchell would deny this criticism, as she also promoted unique geographical experiences for children of all ages.

Elementary children could experience a wide variety of geographical contexts, according to Lucy Sprague Mitchell. The new human geography field of study fascinated her. She believed children could study "what the earth does to people and what people do to the earth" (Field, 1999, p. 135). She created a method of instruction that utilized "tool maps," which would incorporate basic geographic relationships that children encountered. To foster progressive experiential learning, or "relationship thinking," as she called it, Sprague developed "tool maps" in geography lessons that not only included buildings in New York City but also superimposed "transparencies of population settlement and natural geographic features" to help young students understand how "social constructions were dependent on the environment" (Antler, 1987, p. 296). Children would help to create these maps through field trips and exploration of their own community.

The other important component to her geographic method was problem solving. One example is a unit Mitchell designed for elementary-age children to investigate the pioneer movement west. The children were presented with a scenario of a covered wagon leaving from Independence, Missouri, and would investigate topography, wildlife, and plant life as they decided how best to make the journey west. The students were engaging in history, science, art, and drama to solve problems. This early-20th-century progressive lesson created by Lucy Sprague Mitchell is strikingly similar to the Minnesota Educational Consortium's computer game, *Oregon Trail*, which became popular in classrooms across the United States in the 1980s.

Lucy Sprague Mitchell developed progressive techniques for use with elementary-age students and emphasized the importance of training teachers in these methods. Her comfortable financial situation and supportive husband enabled Bank Street College to develop into an icon of progressive instruction. Mitchell believed that students needed to experience and discover the world around them in order to learn most effectively. Direct experience through field trips outside the classroom and approaching education through the appropriate developmental stages of children are the basic tenets of Lucy Sprague Mitchell's

LUCY MAYNARD SALMON: PROGRESSIVE CONTENT AND PEDAGOGY

Lucy Maynard Salmon (1853–1927) was a professor of history at Vassar College for 40 years. She became a noted authority in the field of history and a prolific author who wrote nearly 100 publications. Her most significant books include *Domestic Service* (1897), *Progress in the Household* (1906), *The Newspaper and Authority* (1923), *The Newspaper and the Historian* (1923), and *Why Is History Rewritten?* (1929). Salmon's work on domestic service stands as one of the first modern works of the new social history (Bohan, 2002). As a strong advocate of progressive methods of teaching history as well as a progressive historian, she employed novel techniques and studied unorthodox subject matter (Bohan, 2004a). Lucy Maynard Salmon was a leader in her field, becoming the first woman elected to the Executive Council of the American Historical Association in 1915. She was also the founder and first president of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland (a precursor to the Middle States Council for the Social Studies), a leader in the suffrage movement, and a leader in organizations that became the American Association of University Professors and the American Association of University Women. For the purposes of this chapter, her work to promote progressive methods of teaching history is most significant.

Salmon earned an AB in History from the University of Michigan in 1876. At Michigan, she studied with the noted historian Charles Kendall Adams (Salmon, 1876, 1883). Thereafter, she secured the post of assistant principal of McGregor High School in McGregor, Iowa, performed successfully enough to be promoted to principal the following year, and remained in Iowa for 4 more years. Desiring to continue her education, she returned to the University of Michigan and earned a master's degree in European history and English constitutional history in 1883. Subsequently, she served for 3 years as an instructor at Indiana State Normal School in Terre Haute (Bohan, 2004a). The following year, Salmon was granted a fellowship to Bryn Mawr College, at which she came under the tutelage of Woodrow Wilson (Bohan, 2004b).

After completing her fellowship, Salmon accepted a faculty position at Vassar College. Initially, Salmon was the sole member of the history department, but it quickly expanded (Brown, 1943). Salmon delineated in the Vassar College Course Catalogue (1895–1896) her ideas about the teaching of history. Historical process rather than content-area knowledge was stressed. Salmon believed that facts were as numerous as grains of sand in the sea; thus process took precedent over content. Furthermore, she emphasized the teaching of methods of historical research. Student interest was cultivated through independent research work. Indeed, the "particular object" of two courses that Salmon taught was "to give training in specific methods of historical investigation" (p. 62). Salmon reiterated these points

about the purposes of studying history in several "Suggestions for the Year's Study" pamphlets that she published at Vassar for each history class (Salmon, n.d., Box 59, Folders 4–21). They provided guidelines and explained the purpose of studying history.

The Vassar history department grew, and Salmon gained a reputation for being a rigorous professor. In addition to being rigorous, Salmon's classes also stimulated interesting discussion. She believed that discussion was necessary to foster ideas and to promote independent thinking. Salmon broke with the traditional method of teaching history in which the teacher disseminated information and students learned history by rote memorization. In order to create a comfortable atmosphere for discussion to flow freely, Salmon invited students to the library in her living quarters, and they gathered around a "long table." The "long table" became a trademark for which Miss Salmon was long remembered.

Lucy Salmon also brought students to her house in Poughkeepsie in order to show them her kitchen and for them to discover the history there. Clearly, this activity made quite an impression upon her history students. Decades later, the experience became part of a remembered oral tradition passed down to daughters of women who had been students in Salmon's classes (Hopkins, 1998; Jones, 1935). Salmon, of course, was deeply interested in domestic service. For her, domestic artifacts were the stuff of history, and she wanted her students to determine what history was revealed by examination of kitchen implements, utensils, and machinery. She hung a photograph of a colonial kitchen in her Victorian-era kitchen for comparison. Certainly, Salmon's pedagogical approach reminded students that history was present even in the seemingly ordinary aspects of living and revealed her keen interest in cultural and social history. Likely, the field trip experience to Salmon's kitchen made a deeper impression than if her students had read a book on the history of kitchens.

Salmon's examinations were another remarkably unique and progressive feature of her teaching methods (Bohan, 2004a). They reflected incredible creativity and clearly sought to stimulate students' historical thinking in a manner far beyond traditional examinations, which asked students to describe or explain a particular historical phenomenon. Many of the distinctive questions she asked her students could be employed in history courses today. For example, in an examination in Salmon's American History class, she asked students to "state in detail what you would do to test the accuracy of the statements of the Declaration of Independence" (Salmon, n.d., Box 59, Folder 8). In another assignment, Salmon asked a student to "plan a course in American history for a club of American women residents in a Chinese city" (Salmon, n.d., Box 59, Folder 8). Such thought-provoking questions are as applicable today as they were when they were written.

Salmon's legacy in the area of history education is particularly significant. In the

which made national recommendations for the teaching of secondary school history. She continued throughout her career to write about progressive methods of history teaching and to research nontraditional subject matter—subjects that pertained to ordinary people and how they lived their lives. Salmon taught students to broaden their understanding of history beyond military and political events and to examine their everyday world to find history in their backyard, in their kitchen, or on the main street. She took students on a trolley ride down the main street so they could see how history was revealed in the architectures of buildings. Her advice about teaching and learning history was direct: "Go to the sources." To be sure, her unconventional approach to teaching and learning history garnered criticism from colleagues who favored more traditional approaches to history education. Yet, at the end of her life, she earned considerable recognition for her many academic accomplishments and her progressive pedagogy.

ANNA JULIA COOPER: EDUCATION FOR THE DISENFRANCHISED

Progressive education refers to the openness of method and practice exemplified by the work of Lucy Sprague Mitchell and Lucy Maynard Salmon. Progressive education can also refer to the inclusion of disenfranchised groups in educational opportunities. In the United States, there have been many women who devoted their careers in education to those often excluded from formal schooling. Winifred Holt advocated for blind students in the New York City public schools, Harriet Bedell supported an American education that still respected the indigenous culture of Native Americans, and Julia Richman is noted for her devotion to the education of immigrant children. There were also numerous women who advocated for the education of African American children, including Mary McLeod Bethune, who worked for social justice and founded Bethune-Cookman College. Charlotte Hawkins Brown was another African American woman who had a profound impact in rural North Carolina with her leadership in that region's Palmer Institute.

On a national scale, Anna Julia Cooper is distinguished in her efforts to make education available for all African Americans in order to empower those facing racial and social repression. Her accomplishments are remarkable given her 100-year-plus lifespan. Cooper was born a slave in 1860 and died just a few short months before the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The contributions she made in promoting the power of education and the approach she took toward educating the racially disenfranchised have not always been free of criticism. The context of the times in which Anna Julia Cooper lived cannot be overlooked when analyzing her life's work. She promoted education as a vehicle to liberate both African Americans and women from discrimination.

Anna Julia Cooper was born to a domestic slave in Raleigh, North Carolina, and was most likely the daughter of her mother's white owner. Her aptitude and motivation for learning were quickly realized, and at the age of 8 she was awarded a scholarship to attend St. Augustine's Normal School in North Carolina. The school was operated by the Episcopal Church in an effort to educate newly freed slaves. Anna stayed at St. Augustine's for 14 years, taking charge of her education by challenging the coursework restrictions placed on female students (Guy-Sheftall, 1994). From this early experience it was clear that Anna would not tolerate racial or gender barriers. St. Augustine's was also the venue that forged the romance between Anna and George Cooper, a teacher and Episcopalian minister from the Caribbean. They had only been married for 2 years when Anna became a widow at the young age of 19.

Anna Julia Cooper left North Carolina in 1881 to attend Oberlin College in Ohio to further study teaching methods and theory. Oberlin was one of the few colleges that allowed blacks and women to enroll. Anna became very involved in the school's literary society for women and other academic organizations. At Oberlin, she earned a bachelor's degree in 1884 and a master's degree in 1887. It was much later in life that Anna Julia Cooper would fulfill her educational goal of obtaining a PhD. She began the degree program at Columbia but then later transferred the credits to the Sorbonne in Paris, where at over 60 years of age she earned a PhD in French history and literature. Her dissertation topic was "The attitude of France on the question of slavery between 1789 and 1848" (Guy-Sheftall, 1994, p. 164).

The academic credentials and accolades that Anna Julia Cooper amassed during her lifetime provided an avenue with which she was able to actively and effectively participate in the struggle to liberate both her sex and race from oppression. Much of her career was spent as a teacher and administrator at the M Street School in Washington, DC, which was known for preparing African American students for college study. "She certainly understood what had driven Black educational activists before her and what racist Whites had feared, that the right kind of education could ultimately help to undermine White power" (Bailey, 2004, p. 60). As a teacher and administrator, Cooper put into practice an ideology of uplift based on the promotion of literacy and the involvement of minorities in their community (Giles, 2006).

Anna Julia Cooper held other teaching and administrative positions at Wilberforce College in Ohio, Frelinghuysen University, and St. Augustine's, her childhood school. Beyond teaching in schools and universities, it was her activism regarding women and African Americans that vividly displays Cooper's progressive attitude of educational accessibility.

The determined action of Anna Julia Cooper encompassed her fight against

and writings into a pivotal work expounding black feminist thought titled *A Voice from the South by a Black Woman of the South*. This treatise "has been widely recognized as a foundational text of black feminist thought and has garnered significant attention from scholars and critics" (Moody-Turner, 2009, p. 7). *A Voice from the South* was written during the divisive debate in the African American community concerning vocational education, as advocated by Booker T. Washington, versus higher education for African Americans, supported by W. E. B. DuBois. Anna Julia Cooper's promotion of a college preparatory curriculum while the principal of the M Street High School was criticized by the "Tuskegee machine," which may have misinterpreted her stance. She did not dismiss industrial education; rather, Cooper opposed industrial education being the focus or only type of curriculum in her school (Giles, 2006).

Anna Julia Cooper's progressive activism for access to education in all forms was not limited to racial equity. She was also a strong feminist whose sense of gendered agency was at the root of her work. Cooper "argued for black women's voices and the telling of their own historical truths so that everyone would know their status and aspirations from black women themselves, rather than simply from supportive black men and well-meaning whites" (Hubbard, 2010, p. 32). As a female student, she demanded access to all courses. As an administrator and teacher, she demanded gender equity in her schools and promoted higher education options for women. Cooper believed education uplifted the disenfranchised, and she fostered this progressive ideal in her efforts to promote knowledge attainment among her race, gender, and the working poor.

Adult education among the working poor in Washington, DC, was another avenue for progressive uplift that Anna Julia Cooper supported. She believed neither race, gender, nor age mattered when learning was at stake. The Freylinghusen University was established in Washington, DC, for the purpose of educating the poor, and Cooper became the president of the school in 1930. In an essay Cooper wrote for the school's catalogue, she used the phrase "in service for the common good" (Johnson, 2009, p. 45). She believed strongly that continuing education courses for working-class adults were critical to community-based uplift. Freylinghusen was not in the business of conferring degrees, but instead promoted literacy and basic education programs for adults.

Anna Julia Cooper was a dynamic and progressive woman whose brand of progressive education relied on broadening access to education for both African Americans and women. Progressive education to Cooper was the means to transform society from the racist and sexist abyss that existed throughout much of her life. While her efforts, writings, and beliefs were not without criticism, Anna Julia Cooper certainly paved the way for societal transformation through progressive education. She achieved this by maximizing her own potential beyond any gender and racial barriers and always emphasizing education as a solution to

social repression. Ever the educator, Cooper wrote that she wanted to be remembered only as "somebody's teacher on vacation now, resting for the fall opening" (Guy-Sheftall, 1994, p. 165). She was a progressive teacher who inspired change for the disenfranchised through the acquisition of knowledge.

WOMEN IN PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION: FINAL THOUGHTS

Progressive education, with its broad and nebulous meaning, employed many dynamic women. The contexts in which Young, Mitchell, Salmon, Cooper, and others worked to reform administrative practices, early childhood approaches, curriculum pedagogy, or to demand equitable access for all to schooling are varied, yet they are united in their willingness to venture away from standard practices. These women sought new and perhaps better ways of achieving an educated citizenry for the benefit of society. They were practitioners of progressive educational thought.

The schoolhouse was not the only locale for learning, as progressive education began to encompass a wide array of opportunities for children. Other women were instrumental in the progressive movement. For example, Juliette Gordon Lowe was a progressive woman whose introduction of Girl Scouting in 1912 aimed to open girls up to skills beyond the domestic. Progressive education also began to include the fine arts, as exemplified by Julia Etta Crane's promotion of music education for children in the 1890s.

Engaging children to expand their curiosity and thinking was a major tenet in progressive education, whether it be through learning Morse Code in the Girl Scouts, playing the violin, or reading from Lucy Sprague Mitchell's *Here and Now* series in a classroom. The women highlighted in this chapter, Ella Flagg Young, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Lucy Maynard Salmon, and Anna Julia Cooper, all exemplify different contexts of progressive education at a grassroots level. These women, along with many others, are the ones who were practicing the theoretical claims touted at the turn of the 20th century as being critical for improving the educational achievement of children.

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